HUMAN RIGHTS

Political, historical, economic, social and cultural factors contributing to racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*

UNITED NATIONS

World Campaign for Human Rights

HR/PUB/91/3

Centre for Human Rights
Geneva

Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination

Report of the Seminar on the political, historical, economic, social and cultural factors contributing to racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*

Geneva (Switzerland), 10-14 December 1990

United Nations
New York, 1991

NOTE

The designations employed and the presentation of the material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Secretariat of the United Nations concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area, or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

* * *

Material contained in this publication may be freely quoted or reprinted, provided credit is given and a copy of the publication containing the reprinted material is sent to the Centre for Human Rights, United Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.

HR/PUB/91/3

READEX
FICHE

CONTENTS

		Paragraphs	Page
INTRODUCTION		1-15	1
A.	Organization of the Seminar	1	1
B.	Participation	2-8	1
C.	Opening of the Seminar and election of officers	9-12	2
D.	Agenda	13	2
E.	Documentation	14-15	3
Chapter			
I.	CAUSES AND CURRENT MANIFESTATIONS OF RACISM	16-74	5
	A. Historical factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination	16-30	5
	B. Economic factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination	31-43	7
	C. Political factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination	44-60	9
	D. Social and cultural factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination	61-74	12
II.	RACISM TODAY: OVERVIEW AND INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CAUSES AND MANIFESTATIONS	75-111	16
III.	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: ACTION AT THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS	112	23
Annex.	List of attendance		28

Introduction

A. *Organization of the Seminar*

1. Following Commission on Human Rights resolution 1987/12 of 12 February 1987 entitled Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the Centre for Human Rights, organized a seminar on "The political, historical, economic, social and cultural factors contributing to racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*".

B. *Participation*

2. The following experts were invited to prepare background papers and to participate in the Seminar by introducing their topics and by taking part in the ensuing discussions: Ms. Tatjana Ansbach, Lecturer, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany; Mr. Asbjørn Eide, Director, Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, Member of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Norway; Professor Paul Gordon Lauren, Director, Mansfield Center, University of Montana, United States of America; Mrs. Purificación Quisumbing, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines; Chairperson of the forty-sixth session of the Commission on Human Rights, Philippines; and Mr. Henry V. H. Sekyi, former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations in New York, Ghana.

3. In addition to the speakers under each item, participants from Governments, representatives of concerned specialized agencies, United Nations organs and units of the United Nations Secretariat, and non-governmental organizations were invited to participate.

4. Participants and alternates from the following countries attended the Seminar in their individual capacity: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Morocco, Peru, Senegal, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Yugoslavia.

5. The following United Nations organs and specialized agencies were represented: the Centre against *Apartheid*, Committee on the Elimination of

Racial Discrimination, Department of Public Information, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Labour Organisation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Health Organization.

6. The following intergovernmental organizations also took part in the Seminar: the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity.

7. The following non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council took part: the International Council of Women, the World Confederation of Labour, Association for the Study of the World Refugee Problem, Baha'i International Community, International Commission of Jurists, International Federation of Social Workers, International Movement for Fraternal Union among Races and Peoples, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, World Council of Churches, World Young Women's Christian Association and the World Peace Council.

8. An attendance list will be found in the annex to this report.

C. *Opening of the Seminar and election of officers*

9. The Seminar was opened on behalf of the Secretary-General by Mr. Kwadwo F. Nyamekye, Deputy Director of the Centre for Human Rights.

10. The Seminar elected by acclamation Mr. Agha Shahi, Chairman of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, as its Chairman.

11. The Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights and Co-ordinator of the United Nations Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Mr. Jan Martenson, addressed the Seminar on 13 December 1991. His statement is contained in addendum 1 to this report.

12. The Secretary of the Seminar was Mrs. Rukia Hanna-Hussen.

D. *Agenda*

13. At its 1st meeting, on 10 December 1990, the Seminar adopted the following agenda:

1. Causes and current manifestations of racism:
   (*a*) Historical factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination;
   (*b*) Economic factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination;
   (*c*) Political factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination;
   (*d*) Social and cultural factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination;
2. Racism today: Overview and interrelationship of causes and manifestations.
3. Conclusions and recommendations: action at the national and international levels.

E. Documentation

14. The following background papers and introductory statements were prepared for the Seminar at the request of the Centre for Human Rights:

HR/GENEVA/1990/SEM.1/BP.1	Background paper prepared by Professor Paul Gordon Lauren, Director, Mansfield Center, University of Montana
HR/GENEVA/1990/SEM.1/BP.2	Background paper prepared by Mr. Henry V. H. Sekyi, former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations in New York
HR/GENEVA/1990/SEM.1/BP.3	Background paper prepared by Mr. Asbjørn Eide, Director, Norwegian Institute of Human Rights
HR/GENEVA/1990/SEM.1/BP.4	Introductory statement by Dr. Tatjana Ansbach, Teacher and Research Worker, Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany

15. Working paper prepared by participant as follows:

HR/GENEVA/1990/SEM.1/WP.1	Mr. R. A. Touzmohammad, (USSR Academy of Sciences)

I. Causes and current manifestations of racism

A. Historical factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination

16. This item was discussed at the 2nd and 3rd meetings, held on 11 December 1990.

17. The item was introduced by Mr. Paul Gordon Lauren (USA) who made an oral presentation of the background paper which he had prepared for the Seminar (BP.1—see Addendum 1 to this document).* In his view, the primary causes of racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* were deeply embedded in the historical past and were determined by a number of economic, political, social and cultural factors. He stated that the nature of the problem of racism was not only historical, but also global, and that no inhabited continent had escaped its scourge. The historical and global manifestations of racism and racial discrimination could, in his view, be seen in several different but related areas, which were: conquest, search for captives for racial slavery, imposition of racial segregation and later of *apartheid*, creation of racial ideology, imposition of racial exclusionary laws and imperialism.

18. During the discussion, the participants agreed that racial consciousness had a nearly universal nature and emerged in widely diverse places ranging from Asia to Africa and from Europe to the Americas, and in many times throughout recorded history. It was noted that early patterns of prejudice based upon colour reveal the existence of race thinking long before the emergence of modern racism.

19. In commenting on the background paper, some participants opposed what they considered to be "a narrow concept of racial discrimination based solely on skin colour". It was pointed out that quite often racial discrimination had been perpetrated with extreme violence on grounds other than skin colour, as was the case of discrimination against ethnic minorities. Also, white-white, black-black or yellow-yellow racial clashes were not isolated phenomena in mankind's history. Reference was made in this connection to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination which took into account this reality and adopted a broader definition of the concept of racial discrimination, which also included descent and national or ethnic origin.

---

* Available in English only.

20. In determining and examining the historical factors and processes which had been found to breed racism and racial discrimination, references were often made to slavery and the slave trade, economic exploitation, white settlements, colonial conquests, imperialism, genocidal practices against populations because of their religion or ethnic origin, economic migration, inequitable labour relations, including forced labour, religious conflicts, xenophobia and anti-Semitism.

21. As far as slavery is concerned, it was stated that the precise nature of the relationship between slavery and racism remained to be determined. While in some cases the reasons for slavery had been purely economic, in other situations slaves were taken not because of their skin colour, but were captured as spoils of war, and the race factor was not determinant. The view was expressed that, in the final analysis, slavery and racism seem to become equally cause and effect. It was in a search for the justification of slavery that its proponents developed the idea of "race" and the supposed superiority of one race over another.

22. The present-day consequences of different types of colonial activities have been analysed. A view was expressed that there was no direct link between the process of colonization and the emergence of racism and racial thinking. It was also felt that the real motives of the colonial powers had been almost always strategic and not economic.

23. According to another speaker, racism had its deep roots in ignorance, contempt for others, egocentrism, thirst for power, a superiority complex and the striving for domination. These attitudes had led to the sad colonial period resulting not only in the exploitation of the colonized peoples, but also in the plundering of their riches and natural resources.

24. A number of participants elaborated on the relationship between religion and race in the historical processes, and it was pointed out that in many instances discrimination had actually been based on religious differences rather than on racial prejudices. Although many speakers felt that at the root of racism were mainly economic factors, some others argued that, historically, religion had been a dominant phenomenon, sometimes much more powerful than any economic circumstances. It was also noted that, for centuries, all religions had been involved inevitably in the political process and often used their doctrine for racial or other motives. According to another view, anti-Semitism had also been the result, originally, of religious propaganda.

25. Some participants emphasized the positive rôle of religion, in particular of Islam, from the point of view of promoting good relations between peoples and races. One speaker, referring to Islamic conquests in Europe, stated, however, that any conquest of foreign land and subjugation of peoples to foreign domination was an evil.

26. Among other historical situations which have contributed to racism and racial discrimination, mention was made, *inter alia*, of the imperialist con-

quests of tsarist Russia and of the subsequent arbitrary redrawing of boundaries in the 1920s and 1930s which produced an acute nationalities problem; of the centuries-long conflict between Christianity and Islam; of the many negative legacies of imperial policies, such as the haphazard drawing of boundaries by the European powers in Africa creating spheres of influence, protectorates and colonies resulting in the arbitrary division of areas inhabited by peoples of different cultures, languages and religions as well as the exportation of indentured labourers into areas occupied by indigenous populations; of the rise of ideologies of exclusion in many countries of the world with the legalization of second-class citizenship; of the progressive reinforcement of systems of racial segregation; of the pogroms, lynchings and killing, culminating in Europe in the Nazi extermination camps; of discrimination against immigrants, migrant workers and minorities.

27. Many participants agreed on what had been called "the two great paradoxes" of history: that racism actually increased as democracy expanded and that racism grew as science advanced. Reference was made to what was widely known as "scientific racism", which produced various false theories and doctrines used to justify the belief in the inherent inferiority of certain peoples or in the superiority of others as determined by genetically transmitted, biological differences of races.

28. One participant, referring to the experience of his country which was a federal State made up of several republics and autonomous provinces, stressed that, although different ethnic backgrounds, different languages, religions and cultures had always contributed to the richness of the community, it was also difficult at times to bring all these diversities into harmony. Due to a combination of historical, economic and religious factors, his country faces now the legacy of national hatred most directly related to exclusiveness and intolerance based on religion. A growing number of political parties, by propagating superiority of their nation or religion, make fertile ground for the activities of the most militant racist or nationalist groups.

29. Another participant referred to the nation-building process in the Americas which, as a result of their historical settlement, was from the very beginning based on the concept of a racial melting pot. People with different racial and ethnic backgrounds joined together and, in his view, truly heterogeneous multi-racial national societies were born in the continent of South America.

30. Mr. Paul Gordon Lauren (USA), who had introduced the item, summed up the debate which had taken place under the item.

B. Economic factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination

31. This item was discussed at the 3rd meeting, held on 11 December 1990.

32. The item was orally introduced by Ms. Tatjana Ansbach (Germany). In her introductory statement, Ms. Ansbach said that she had based her statement on her everyday experience of living in a part of the country that was developing from a centrally-planned economy to a free market economy, rather than on articles, books or statistical materials.

33. In her country, people experienced social fears for the first time in their lives. The rate of unemployment was rising and half of the population feared losing their jobs soon. At the same time, there were alarming signs of growing xenophobia and racism. Brutal criminal acts were committed against aliens who looked different. The acts were committed in public and, in the majority of cases, witnesses reacted indifferently.

34. According to the expert, social well-being and tolerance to other people were interdependent. The pictures of minorities were changing not because of their behaviour but because of and dependent on the social well-being of people around them. However, feelings of nationalism or racism could not be explained by economic factors, and cultural factors, such as the distortion of history or isolation from international contacts and developments also played a significant role.

35. While focusing on economic factors, the speaker also looked into racism and economic interest as well as into the responsibilities of States to influence economic processes with the aim of combating racism. She argued that racist theories and behaviour were propagated for the benefit of economic interests.

36. She also argued that the way labour was organized might be discriminatory itself, especially if this was rooted in and protected by law such as in South Africa. In the case of the former German Democratic Republic, the Government had entered into treaties with some countries to employ labourers from these countries. The treaties provided for some degree of protection for these workers. When the German Democratic Republic ceased to exist, the treaties lost their validity and the labourers concerned were no longer protected by labour law.

37. The expert expressed the view that at least when States had acceded to the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, they had certain obligations to take human rights considerations into account when determining their economic policies. The same applied to States who had ratified International Labour Organisation Convention 111 which prohibits discrimination in employment.

38. However, racism could develop beyond a legal system, and States also had responsibilities apart from establishing an appropriate legal system, such as the duty to facilitate the full realization of the right to development.

39. During the debate on the item, a number of participants wondered what the effects would be of increasing immigration to the new Germany and

whether an appeal should be made to all European Governments drawing their attention to the possible negative effects of these massive influxes. One participant stated that a distinction should be made between the position of migrants and that of indigenous peoples or minorities, who tend not to participate in the economic system, their economic base being destroyed by the interests of the modern State. There was consensus that immigration *per se* does not increase racism, although by causing a higher unemployment rate it can create a climate for racism. This is a cumulative phenomenon and must be taken into account when studying the issue of racism.

40. The view was expressed that the content of the right to development resolution should be studied in so far as minorities and ethnic groups were concerned.

41. One of the experts stated that indeed racism covered many phenomena, and that various factors contributed to racism of which the economic aspect was but one. He also wished to separate racism from xenophobia or heterophobia. The latter do not derive from feelings of superiority on the basis of race, but grow out of a desire to protect one's own territory and of hatred. Racism is based on the concept of a hierarchy of races. UNESCO has been very successful in condemning the idea that any race is superior.

42. One participant stated that in the German Democratic Republic, even during the time of the treaties, violent attacks took place against foreign workers. Another participant added that laws to protect people can be created, but the reality often differs. The expert agreed that fear of punishment or punishment itself was not an effective way to combat racism. She had more confidence in democracy.

43. One participant shared the experience he had had in another country where even after independence segregation existed on the basis of race. Another participant described a recent event in another country where white people became victims of a racist attack. This event took place in a country where there was a high rate of unemployment and where half of the population was living below the poverty line.

C. Political factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination

44. This item was discussed at the 4th and 5th meetings, held on 12 December 1990.

45. The item was introduced by Mr. Henry V. H. Sekyi (Ghana), who made an oral presentation of the background paper (BP.1—see Addendum 1 to this document)* which he had prepared for the Seminar.

46. Among the political factors which contribute to racism and racial discrimination, mention was made of the failure to respect, or the neglect of, the international instruments and recommendations of the United Nations having as their purpose the abolition of those phenomena. Reference was made in this connection to the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa. It was stated that if that Government was serious in its recently stated intentions to dismantle the *apartheid* system through the policy of reforms, it should have fully taken into account the Declaration on *Apartheid* and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa (S-16/1), which had been adopted by consensus in 1989 by the General Assembly. However, in a recent communication addressed to the Secretary-General, the Government of South Africa had indicated that this Declaration was of no legal validity for South Africa.

47. Another political factor mentioned was the role of certain extremist political parties in supporting and encouraging racist régimes and in promoting racial prejudices. References were made in this connection to the Conservative Party of South Africa and to some extreme right-wing parties in Western Europe.

48. Some speakers referred to various national practices and developments, in particular countries which they regarded as contributing to racism and racial discrimination. Thus, one participant mentioned the measures taken by the Parliament of his country in 1984 aimed at decreasing the high concentration of immigrants in certain areas of big cities which, in the view of the authorities, caused serious social repercussions in the fields of education, crime, habitat, etc. As a result, the use of a maximum threshold for the registration of foreigners had been permitted in certain districts. In the opinion of the speaker, this kind of policy not only constituted a violation of the principle of free choice of residence, but it had also bred or increased racism.

49. Support was expressed for the opinion contained in the background paper, according to which there could be no guarantee of total abolition of racism as long as racial myths and stereotypes were left in place. In this connection, reference was made to the role of genuine historical research, free of selective memory. It was emphasized that racial myths and stereotypes had often been reinforced by selective teaching of history at schools and other educational establishments. An idea was put forward that attempts could be made to draft history books jointly with historians representing conflicting points of view.

---

* Available in English only.

50. One participant referred to the discrimination against the Palestinian people and stated that, in his view, the convening of an international conference on the problems of the Middle East would also serve the purpose of combating the practice of racial discrimination.

51. With reference to the notion of a nation-State, one speaker estimated it as a dangerous concept and pointed out that many problems connected with minorities and ethnic conflicts could be directly related to this concept.

52. In connection with the problem of ethnic, national and other minorities which, as it had been stated, "have to pay the price of greater freedom for the majority", one participant suggested that in situations involving the minorities-related issues, the Western-style democracy could be complemented by a consensus element. In her view, the European model of democracy would overcome racial prejudices if it learnt from the traditions of consensus decision-making which are widely used in Africa as well as by some indigenous peoples.

53. Some speakers pointed out that there existed situations which demonstrated the continuation of some forms of colonialism or its consequences. It was felt that the problems that existed in many countries with regard to ethnic minorities had also arisen because of the existing patterns of colonialism and not simply because of ethnic rivalries.

54. Attention was drawn to some psychological aspects of racial discrimination. As was pointed out in the background paper under discussion, the notions of racial superiority appealed in particular to those in the lower strata of society for whom the additional pecking orders may have been a psychological necessity. It was felt in this connection that this issue of psychological necessity, particularly in situations of economic decline or crisis, was an important factor to be taken into account in considering the political issues surrounding racism.

55. Many participants emphasized the important role and potential of the mass media in the eradication of racism and racial discrimination, particularly from the point of view of educating people and influencing their ideas. A view was expressed that it would have been useful if experts on communications were invited to participate in this kind of seminar.

56. Most of the speakers agreed on the predominant role of education in eradicating racism and racial prejudice. It was also stated that the Seminar was missing the kind of expertise which could be provided by the participation of a political sociologist and a social psychologist. The need for a better liaison and co-operation between the Centre for Human Rights and UNESCO was stressed in this connection.

57. The representative of UNESCO emphasized the important role of education in combating racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* and described the contribution made by UNESCO which included legislative measures, research and studies, and activities in the field of education and information. References were made, in particular, to the Convention against

Discrimination in Education, the Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice and some other recommendations as well as to a number of expert meetings, studies and publications on the subject undertaken by UNESCO.

58. Provisions of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination were often referred to during the discussion, and the procedures which are followed in the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination were explained in detail. It was noted that universal adherence to this Convention was an essential factor in the efforts of the international community aimed at combating and eradicating racism and racial discrimination. The importance of making declarations under article 14 of the Convention was also stressed.

59. It was felt by one participant that it would have been useful if a working paper on the evolution of the current political situation in South Africa had been prepared for distribution at the Seminar.

60. Mr. Henry V. H. Sekyi (Ghana), who had introduced the item, summed up the debate which had taken place under the item.

D. Social and cultural factors contributing to racism and racial discrimination

61. This item was discussed at the 5th and 6th meetings, held on 12 and 13 December 1990.

62. This item was introduced orally by Mrs. Purificación Quisumbing (see Addendum 1 to this document).*

63. In her introductory statement, Mrs. Quisumbing pointed out that the concept of racism has no scientific basis whatsoever. This was one of the major findings at a symposium that was organized by UNESCO in Athens in 1981. Some other findings of the Symposium were that racism could be scientifically challenged through education, information and communication.

64. Another United Nations seminar held in Nairobi, Kenya, in May 1980, concluded that economic factors can be considered as the infrastructure of racism and racial discrimination, and social factors as the superstructure. It further concluded that racism is not inborn, but learnt from the surroundings. In this regard, there is a need for education and training. The Seminar also noted that mixed societies constitute a fertile atmosphere for racism, but do not in themselves lead to racism. Another conclusion of the Seminar was that the existing economic imbalance at the international level had disastrous effects at the national level, therefore, it recommended that the right to development should be recognized as a human right.

---

* Available in English only.

65. In her view, racism plays on the ambiguity of society. Dominant political and cultural groups deny the cultures of minority groups or try to assimilate them. *Apartheid* is the extreme manifestation of racism and racial discrimination. The speaker argued that the system of *apartheid* had been able to exist because of its support by the United States, Israel and some Western European countries. Also, the international media have contributed significantly to the maintenance of the *apartheid* system rather than critically questioning it.

66. Among the recommendations formulated by the expert were those proposing to continue with education campaigns and other activities in the field of communication. UNESCO could include an anti-racist component in its literacy programme; UNDP could try to incorporate an anti-racist component in all its programmes. Recourse procedures, which until now have proven to be inadequate should be redefined and popularized. United Nations human rights institutes should be decentralized and focused more on regional approaches. The Committee on the Rights of the Child could decide to meet in different regions of the world and take advantage of already existing arrangements. Finally, every child, woman and man should be empowered to combat racism. Only at the grass-roots level can racism be eradicated. As an African statesman recently pointed out "the solution is in our hearts".

67. Most of the participants agreed with the recommendation that much more effort should be placed on education. It was pointed out that in some countries, such subjects as diversity of cultures or different lifestyles are already part of the curriculum, while in many other countries no initiatives have been taken as yet in this regard. It was questioned whether UNESCO or any other United Nations body had ever carried out a survey of history books that are used in the curricula in various countries and which still might contain racist ideologies or bias against certain population groups.

68. Many participants underlined the importance of the role that the press or any form of public information play in the dissemination of information on racism. While some were of the opinion that the media represents public opinion, others agreed that it forms public opinion. In some countries, the press helped, for example, to give a more positive image of other cultures. In one country, an annual report on measures to combat racism, as well as a report containing judicial decisions on all subjects related to racism and racial discrimination are published. One participant mentioned the role of the press whose depiction of the Third World strongly influences public opinion in Western countries.

69. There was also much agreement on the recommendation for a decentralization of human rights activities. However, it was also felt that the existing bodies should co-operate and co-ordinate better. Some participants added that this should not be a decentralization limited to the international level, but it should also be pursued at the national level.

70. As regards monitoring bodies at the national level, it was often felt that they were not effective, especially not in the case of those dealing with the

repression of racism. More effective bodies already existing in some countries were those which trained government officials dealing frequently with foreigners. In some countries, official but independent bodies that could investigate any issues relating to racial discrimination and make recommendations to the Government also existed. One participant argued that in her country people tended to rely always on the public authorities and not on themselves or on their common sense. She therefore welcomed the suggestion that the subject of racism and racial discrimination be approached from the level of everyday life, and emphasize the human dimension.

71. The representative of the International Labour Organisation made a substantive statement on the organization's activities in the field of combating racism. This included its anti-*apartheid* programme, the adoption of relevant international labour standards, its work on migrant workers, indigenous populations and minorities and its assistance to the Palestinian workers in the occupied Arab territories. With respect to its work against *apartheid*, the framework is its Declaration concerning *apartheid* adopted in 1964 and updated in 1988. Each year a special report is published on action against *apartheid*, which contains information on recent developments on the labour and social system under the *apartheid* system. In this way, useful information has been obtained on how racism can combine with other forms of discrimination, such as gender inequality, to create an extremely intolerable situation for a group of people. Other research has shown that although victims of racism in a particular country may belong to the same race, they do not constitute a homogeneous group in terms of the treatment meted out to them. In South Africa, for instance, the vulnerable groups such as black children and women suffer more in the field of labour than the black male population. Concerning co-operation with other organizations, the International Labour Organisation is participating in the inter-agency meeting on co-ordination and co-operation of programmes within the framework of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. In addition the International Labour Organisation has nominated a staff member to serve as a focal point for co-operation on issues relating to racial discrimination.

72. The representative of the Organization of African Unity stated that the OAU firmly believed in the leading role of the United Nations in the abolition of *apartheid*. He further stated that traditionally people had always been free to move on the African continent. This tradition was disturbed as foreign occupants arrived who imposed immigration laws.

73. One participant mentioned that with regard to the mass media, article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which condemns racist propaganda and organizations, may be helpful. However, many States parties have made reservations concerning article 4, especially where it touches on the subject of freedom of expression. She therefore proposed opening a discussion on the role of the mass media and sug-

gested that an additional protocol to the Convention, with certain obligations for States, could address this problem.

74. Another participant suggested that another Seminar to focus on a better use of all international control mechanisms should be organized.

II. Racism today: overview and interrelationship of causes and manifestations

75. This item was discussed at the 6th to 8th meetings, held on 13 and 14 December 1990.

76. The item was introduced by Mr. Asbjørn Eide (Norway), who made an oral presentation of his background paper (BP.3—see Addendum 1 to this document).*

77. In the discussion, many participants referred to the situation in South Africa and it was stressed that in combating racism and racial discrimination priority attention should be given to the struggle against *apartheid* which was viewed as a complex political, legal and social phenomenon embracing all spheres of life of South Africa.

78. Comments were made on the racist legislation and practices which formed the basis of the *apartheid* system. An opinion was expressed that the role of political parties in the political process in South Africa deserved closer examination.

79. It was stated that the essential elements of the *apartheid* system remained intact, despite the rhetoric of the new leadership of the National Party. Much of this rhetoric was calculated to lull the outside world into a false sense of progress about the dismantling of *apartheid*. The view was expressed that wider and more intensified application of sanctions was the only way to completely demolish *apartheid*.

80. It was observed that as long as *apartheid* was allowed to continue, the achievements of societies all over the world in guaranteeing human rights and equality through law would be endangered and no group would be completely free from the spectre of eventual subjugation to a similar system.

81. Some speakers referred to the manifestations of racial discrimination in occupied Palestine and attention was called to the link between continued occupation and a climate of discrimination. Reference was also made to settlement policies in occupied Palestine and elsewhere.

82. It was observed that respect for international law and the implementation of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council on a number of international issues would bring solutions to many of the problems

---

* Available in English only.

involving mass and flagrant violations of human rights, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

83. It was noted that at present, when the system of colonial discrimination had practically disappeared, certain other long-inherited tendencies were coming to the surface. These included the rise of ethnic nationalism and the desire for greater autonomy, self-determination and independence, and conflicts between ethnic groups and other entities.

84. According to another observer, the world today witnessed many indirect forms of colonialism which manifested themselves in the expansionist policies of States, the occupation of foreign lands and the expulsion and uprooting of populations, their segregation based on skin colour, religion or ethnic origin, and massive violations of human rights of ethnic or religious communities on the grounds of alleged threats to national security. All these policies and practices lead to the emergence, development and perpetuation of different forms of racism and racial discrimination.

85. Serious discrimination had been noted by many speakers with regard to immigrants, migrant workers, Gypsies, indigenous populations and minorities. It was pointed out that with regard to migrant workers and indigenous populations, the United Nations had made significant progress in defining the rights of the particular groups, including that of equal treatment. As for minorities, much remained to be done in defending them against discrimination and in protecting their cultural, linguistic and religious heritage. The view was expressed that the current progress at the European level might prove helpful for the United Nations.

86. It was noted that the evaluation of the First Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination as well as of the first part of the Second Decade had shown that a lot remained to be done and that the principle objectives of the Decade had not yet been attained.

87. Speaking about the present-day manifestations of racism and racial discrimination, one participant noted that besides the "established" ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, which in many regions of the world were the first victims of racist régimes or discriminatory laws, there existed "new immigrants", or migrant workers, who were also victims of racism and discriminatory treatment in a number of European countries. Reference was made in this connection also to the disturbing activities of various extremist groups which were directed against migrant workers.

88. Mention was made of intensive immigration in certain European countries which often resulted in tension among workers of different nationalities and produced outbreaks of racism. Many speakers referred to the recently adopted International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Their Families which, once it entered into force, in their view,

could become an effective means of safeguarding the rights and interests of this part of the population.

89. One participant pointed out that the minorities-related issues were among the most acute problems of the newly democratized States in Central and Eastern Europe. He described numerous manifestations of racial intolerance in his country with regard to Gypsies (Roma) and foreign workers and noted that those acts were performed mainly by members of "skinhead" groups. In his view, the animosity of the local population towards foreign workers was due to the fact that both sides were lacking proper preparation and information regarding the history, traditions and cultural values of each other. The deterioration of economic conditions in his country had contributed to the process of alienation of foreign workers. As far as Gypsies were concerned, it was observed that the process of social disintegration going on inside this minority group was caused, above all, by their unequal position before the law and generally in society. He further noted that steps had been taken by his Government to remedy the situation. Those included measures aimed at preserving the cultural identity of Gypsies and at the realization of their political and other rights.

90. Some other participants drew attention to the increasing manifestations of Nazi, Fascist and neo-Fascist activities, and particular reference was again made to "skinheads" who, in the view of some speakers, played an essential role in expanding the extreme right movement in Europe.

91. Addressing the issue relating to the situation of aboriginal peoples and indigenous populations, one participant supported the view expressed in the background paper that only a small minority of indigenous peoples had succeeded in becoming fully integrated in the dominant society, and that many of those who had, experienced a loss or a split of identity which psychologically and socially could be devastating. It was observed that international law on indigenous peoples until very recently had favoured this concept of integration which was one of the basic concepts of ILO Convention No. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. The speaker felt that although most countries had had mixed results with this approach to integration, it was, from the viewpoint of race relations, extremely desirable to have integration. Recently, a new concept of the preservation of cultural identity had emerged which was reflected in the revised ILO Convention, and States had now to decide individually which of those approaches should be taken. Another participant spoke in favour of this new approach of allowing indigenous peoples to develop their own identity and to have as much control as possible over their own fate, although not in a way which would romanticize them.

92. The importance of ensuring a reasonably equitable development for different ethnic groups and different parts of society in order to avoid the feeling of discrimination was stressed. It was said that even though there might not have been an intended discrimination, the impact could easily lead in this direction. Another speaker drew attention to some problems in connection with the practi-

cal realization of the principle of equitable development within the free market economy.

93. Mention was made of refugees as a particular category of victims of racism. Attention was drawn to the definition of refugees in the 1951 Convention on the subject in which the threat of persecution for reasons of race and nationality was mentioned among the basic conditions for according the status of refugee. It was observed that various elements of racism were present in many aspects of the phenomenon of refugees. First, racism itself had often been a cause of refugee flows. Also, criteria for selection of asylum seekers, although political in nature, were often tinged with racist elements. Finally, racist elements were obvious in the treatment of asylum seekers, once they had been given asylum. It was therefore suggested that in the future more attention should be given to the consideration of these aspects of the problem.

94. Several participants gave an overview of activities which had been undertaken at the national level with a view to harmonizing race relations and eradicating racial prejudice and discrimination. In some statements, the roots and present-day manifestations of racism had been shown. The speakers also described the participation of their respective governments in international action to combat racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

95. One participant, referring to the experience of his country which is situated on an archipelago and has multiple ethnic groups, described the contents and significance of the national symbol of "unity in diversity" and of the national moral code of ethics (which is also the State ideology) consisting of five principles. One of those principles called, *inter alia*, for the elimination of feelings of superiority based on ethnic and racial grounds, ancestry or skin colour. The cultural concept formed by these principles was continuously being disseminated and discussed at all layers of society and was taught in educational institutions, both governmental and private. In the view of the speaker, the adherence to those principles had significantly contributed to the nation-building process and to the nation's development efforts.

96. Another speaker drew attention to certain cases in his country in which domestic conflicts and disturbances of economic or other originally non-racial character had developed into manifestations of extreme racial, ethnic and religious intolerance and hatred. In his view, the main political causes of this situation were the arbitrary drawing in the past of administrative boundaries, ignoring the equality of peoples, and various forms of domination and abuse by the central authorities, including the imposition of flawed farming technology and lopsided specialization in agriculture. The result was that the dissatisfaction with the central Government had been extended to all people belonging to the same ethnic or racial group or religion as that of the central authorities.

97. The situation in another country was mentioned where, in the view of some participants, the manifestations of institutionalized racism similar to *apartheid* were evident. References were made to the recently promulgated con-

stitution of that country which was seen by several speakers as racist and undemocratic. At the same time, it was pointed out that this situation was another example of a new phenomenon which might be a part of the resurgence of ethnic and cultural identity. In their view, a new conceptual framework was needed in order to understand how to cope with such problems. In regard to the situation in this country, one participant submitted a draft recommendation. However, no consensus emerged on this proposal due to lack of further information.

98. Many participants noted that the present-day expansion of democracy has often been accompanied by outbreaks and manifestations of racial violence and intolerance. References were made in this connection to recent upheavals in Eastern Europe. It was noted that with the return of democracy and freedom of expression, nationalistic feelings had made their way and superiority complexes had been openly manifested causing waves of violence and xenophobia which were difficult to control.

99. With regard to the implementation of legislation on race relations at the national level, one speaker stressed the need to develop a legal culture. It was noted that if the general public did not have a feeling for rights and duties as laid down in the legislation, then the law would not have an impact. The law, it was argued, should not be too removed from the moral convictions of the population.

100. The participants agreed that the law had to declare discrimination illegal and legal norms had to be enforced. It was also stressed that efforts should be made to ensure equal opportunities for all in society. The view was expressed that non-discrimination and equal opportunity, if taken together, could bring progress in eliminating racial discrimination and the stereotypes underlying it. In addition, each situation must be studied carefully to determine if and to what extent the actual position of specific disadvantaged groups, in particular those affected by past discrimination, can be the object of affirmative action or programmes. Also, the potential and the role of parliaments, local councils, trade unions, non-governmental organizations and individuals in the struggle against *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination was underlined.

101. The participants agreed with the opinion expressed in the background paper according to which there existed situations where discrimination was not based on theories of superiority and inferiority, but on fear and rejection of those who were different—whether it be in Europe, Africa, Asia or in the Americas.

102. It was noted by one participant that in some instances discrimination was based on multiple differences and not just on a single feature, be it a race or ethnic origin. In this connection, the concept of "equal but different" was discussed which, in the view of some speakers, in certain situations might be a more subtle form of racism, especially with regard to indigenous peoples and minorities. According to another remark, the ongoing process of integration of immigrants in practice often meant their assimilation.

103. Addressing the issue of affirmative action, one participant stated that such action, which he considered a case of more equitable development, required careful planning and evaluation of the impact that it might have on the rest of the society. Affirmative action, if not applied with due care and consideration, could lead to social tension and produce negative results for the society as a whole. Information, communication and education were, in his view, important tools which could be used with regard to this kind of action. He noted further that there were limits to affirmative action, and it required fine balancing of interests of the various sections of society.

104. The view was repeatedly affirmed that education was certainly one of the keys to a world free from racism. It was also noted that education was an essential element to create a climate of mutual tolerance and understanding between different communities. Sensitivity training in the early school years and broadly based community action programmes were described as important tools to achieve this objective.

105. The manifestation of racial thinking in the public mind legally did not mean distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference but could lead to it any time. It was felt that this phenomenon, which was linked with *de facto* discrimination, deserved further study. In this connection, it was pointed out that not only formal, but also informal education should get high attention. The potential of television in shaping attitudes of children was mentioned in this regard as well as the importance of their early socialization.

106. The role of the media in general and the problem of regulating the electronic and printed media in particular were given some consideration. It was suggested by one participant that an idea of elaborating a code of practice or a general declaration of principles governing the educational role, duties and responsibilities of the media should be studied by UNESCO, relevant human rights organizations and by the media itself.

107. The view was expressed that human rights seminars could in future be held as close as possible to regions where racial or ethnic tension was evident.

108. In the view of one participant, the establishment of the post of a high commissioner for racial discrimination could be helpful.

109. It was further suggested that the establishment of national ombudsmen in the field of racial discrimination should be considered. Existing experience had shown positive results and in many cases such institutions could have an impact far in excess of their costs.

110. It was concluded that the core of the problem of racial discrimination and prejudice was in the assumption of superiority or inferiority which, although shown to be wrong in scientific terms, existed subconsciously and was still influential. It was said that it could erupt in the context of various kinds of tension, competition for resources, unemployment and other difficulties. It was

also felt that distinctions which were based on race, colour, descent, or national origin, could take many different forms in complex situations, each with its own particular political, historical, economic, social and cultural context.

111. Mr. Asbjørn Eide (Norway), who had introduced the item, summed up the discussion which had taken place under the item.

III. Conclusions and recommendations: action at the national and international levels

112. At its 9th meeting, held on 14 December 1990, the Seminar adopted the following conclusions and recommendations:

1. The Seminar affirms that racial discrimination means any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life. The Seminar also affirms that racial discrimination is often linked with religious and other factors.

2. Convinced of the need to intensify international, regional and national efforts to combat racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*, the Seminar welcomes the recommendation of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in its resolution 1990/1 of 20 August 1990 and recommends that the Economic and Social Council, at its first regular session in 1991, request the General Assembly to consider proclaiming a third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination to begin in 1993.

3. Governments should continue to give high priority to strengthening legal and political action against racism and racial discrimination, especially by taking administrative and other measures and by creating legal sanctions for racist offences, and should promote tolerance, mutual understanding and friendship among racial or ethnic groups. In this connection, Governments should consider establishing appropriate institutions, such as commissions or ombudsmen, to deal effectively with allegations of racial and other forms of discrimination.

4. The international community should intensify its efforts to provide increased effective and practical assistance to the victims of racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*, and to peoples, movements and individuals struggling against these evils.

5. The Seminar considers that the struggle against *apartheid* should be accorded highest priority. It welcomes the progress made in the region of southern Africa towards establishing an atmosphere conducive to negotiations. It stresses, however, the need for special focus to be put on the implementation of the Declaration on *Apartheid* and its Destructive Con-

sequences in southern Africa adopted by consensus at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly (resolution S-16/1 of 14 December 1989).

6. The manifestation of institutionalized racism should be addressed and the international community called upon to take concerted action to prevent States from sliding into racial conflict and confrontation. Efforts should be made not to allow racism in some other garb to be consolidated. As a first step, a study should be conducted on the practice of institutionalized racism with a view to making the international community aware and conscious of this reprehensible practice.

7. The Seminar strongly underlines the importance of education, teaching and training in the eradication of racism and racial discrimination. To facilitate the adoption of appropriate measures to this effect in the fields of teaching, education, culture and information, closer co-operation should be established between UNESCO, the Centre for Human Rights and the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) to develop new approaches in this area. Basic attitudes are often shaped at a very early stage in the life of human beings, transmitted by parents to children, or through contacts in the immediate neighbourhood or through electronic media. It is therefore desirable to go beyond formal education to address also the early socialization of children in order to foster attitudes of equality and non-discrimination.

8. The Seminar recognized the growing awareness that there are many other manifestations of discrimination based on nationality, ethnicity, culture and religion, including new trends of racial discrimination, intolerance and xenophobia. Special attention should be given to the identification of the various aspects of these phenomena and to situations based on fear and rejection of those who are different, in order to make more effective the fight against all forms of racism and racial discrimination.

9. The Seminar expresses its deep concern over the often disproportionate rate of imprisonment and conviction of members of groups which have in the past been subjected to discrimination on the grounds of race or ethnicity, and calls on Governments to study these phenomena with a view to taking remedial action. The Seminar calls on States to ensure that law enforcement agencies avoid excessive use of force in situations involving disadvantaged groups. As part of their training, members of the police, prison personnel and other law enforcement officials must be made aware of and understand the social and psychological situations of these groups. Scrupulous impartiality and non-discrimination in law enforcement are essential to social peace. In the maintenance of law and order, equal protection should be given to all, including the members of racially or ethnically disadvantaged groups. The recommendations to this effect made in the study on discriminatory treatment of members of racial, ethnic, religious or linguistic groups

in the administration of justice prepared by Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/7) should be implemented as fully as possible. For this purpose a seminar should be convened with the participation of administrators of criminal justice to explore ways of better implementing these recommendations.

10. The Seminar underlines the great importance of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the activities of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination as well as of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* in the overall endeavours of the international community to combat racism and racial discrimination. The United Nations should continue to encourage those States that have not yet done so to accede to or ratify the relevant regional and international instruments pertinent to racism and racial discrimination, such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* and the International Convention against *Apartheid* in Sports.

11. The activities of CERD should receive more support and it should be given more time for its deliberations. Ways should be sought by which the Committee could be funded under the United Nations regular budget. States parties should comply more fully with their reporting duties under the Convention. States parties which have made reservations to Article 4 of the Convention should consider the possibility of withdrawing them. States parties should also be encouraged to declare that they recognize the competence of the Committee under Article 14 of the Convention.

12. The Seminar recommends that there be greater decentralization of United Nations human rights procedures and activities with a view to enhancing universal awareness and compliance with international human rights obligations. For this purpose, meetings of United Nations human rights bodies should be held, from time to time, in regions or subregions, with the co-operation of the Governments concerned and of regional organizations, where they exist.

13. The Seminar notes the importance of the role of the mass media, particularly television, in combating racism and racial discrimination. It recommends, therefore, that a seminar be held, in co-operation with UNESCO and with the participation of the representatives of the media and their organizations, to study these aspects with the aim of elaborating recommendations on:

(*a*) The interrelationship of freedom of the press, protection against racism and incitement to racial hatred and violence;

(*b*) The elaboration of a code of ethics* in regard to the problem of racism and racial discrimination.

In this context, the Seminar welcomes and supports the proposed joint meeting of CERD and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and particularly the inclusion in the agenda of that meeting of a discussion on the relationship between the protection against racial discrimination and of other human rights and fundamental freedoms, especially the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

14. Of great importance for the future work of the United Nations and for the World Conference on Human Rights would be the holding of an international seminar on the effectiveness of the existing human rights monitoring mechanisms and recourse procedures with special reference to the efforts to eliminate racism and racial discrimination. The Seminar should prepare conclusions and recommendations for consideration in the Commission on Human Rights and the Preparatory Committee of the World Conference.

15. The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities should consider updating the study on racial discrimination prepared by Mr. Hernán Santa Cruz and presented in 1976. The focus should be on assessing the achievements at the international, and, especially, the national level in different parts of the world in the elimination of racial discrimination. The assessment should examine the level of enjoyment by different ethnic and racial groups of all categories of human rights: civil, political, economic, social and cultural. It would be useful to divide the assessment according to the main contexts in which discrimination is likely to occur: *Apartheid*, discrimination against indigenous peoples, situations which originated in slavery, situations affecting migrant workers and aliens, and situations involving members of ethnic groups. At the same time, UNESCO should be encouraged to initiate other studies, by competent experts, on specific historical and contemporary factors leading to racism and racial discrimination and to situations based on fear and rejection of those who are different.

16. In welcoming the progress made in preparing model legislation for the guidance of Governments in the enactment of further legislation against racial discrimination, the Seminar recommends that the Secretary-General should multiply his efforts to develop model laws and to prepare a handbook of recourse procedures for victims of racial discrimination. The Seminar hopes that the necessary resources would be made available to the Centre for Human Rights to undertake these tasks.

---

*The participant of France explained her reservation to the phrase "a code of". She would have preferred to see it deleted.

17. The Commission on Human Rights should give the highest priority to the completion of work on the draft declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities. The Seminar welcomes the study on possible ways and means of facilitating the peaceful and constructive solution of problems involving minorities undertaken by the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission, Mr. Eide, and recommends that the Special Rapporteur, in preparing his preliminary report, take into account the discussions of the present Seminar.

18. The Working Group on Indigenous Populations of the Sub-Commission should complete as soon as possible the preparation of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and should recommend an appropriate procedure by which to monitor the implementation of that Declaration.

19. The Seminar welcomes the proclamation by the General Assembly of the Convention on Migrant Workers and Their Families and recommends that Governments should be encouraged to ratify or accede to it so that the Convention can come into force as soon as possible.

20. The function of co-ordination of the Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights in the implementation of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should be strengthened. More resources should be made available for this purpose to the Centre for Human Rights and to the implementation of the Programme of Action of the Second Decade. There should be greater co-operation among the United Nations organs and agencies involved. The specialized agencies should be encouraged to develop more comprehensive plans within their functional field of competence. Contacts should be established or improved with regional organizations and non-governmental organizations, both international and national. This should include contacts with civil rights movements, religious organizations, as well as organizations of indigenous peoples and migrant workers. The Centre for Human Rights should also promote and facilitate exchanges of information and views among national human rights institutions.

21. The Seminar acknowledges that economic disparity and deprivation are major causes of overt discrimination, and that economic policies should take into account the need to pursue balanced development. International economic co-operation should be strengthened in order to give additional financial resources and adequate technology to developing countries, especially in Africa, where the prime victims of structural adjustment programmes are women and children. The Seminar urges States to implement the Declaration on the Right to Development adopted by General Assembly resolution 41/128 of 4 December 1986.

ANNEX

List of attendance

A. Experts

Ms. Tatjana Ansbach
Mr. Asbjørn Eide
Mr. Paul Gordon Lauren
Mrs. Purificación Quisumbing
Mr. Henry V. H. Sekyi

B. Participants and alternates nominated by Governments

Algeria

Mme A. Hania Semichi, Ministre plénipotentiaire, Mission permanente de la République algérienne démocratique et populaire auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies à Genève

Australia

Mr. Christopher Sidoti, Secretary, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission

Belgium

M. Francois Sant'Angelo, Attaché au Cabinet du Commissaire royal à la politique des immigrés, Commissariat royal à la politique des immigrés

Brazil

Mr. J. E. do Amaral Souza Neto, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of Brazil to the United Nations Office at Geneva

Bulgaria

M. Rudolph Yossifov, Conseiller auprès du Département "ONU et désarmament", Ministère des affaires étrangères

Burundi

M. Donatien Nibitanga, Directeur de Cabinet du Ministère de la Justice.

China

Mr. Zhang Yishan, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations Office at Geneva

Mr. Wu Shanxiu (alternate)

Costa Rica

Ms. Consuelo BURITICA, Chef du Bureau des droits de l'homme, Ministère des affaires étrangères

Sr. Jorge RHENAN (alternate)

Cyprus

Mrs. Erato MARKOULLI, Official, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Czech and Slovak Federal Republic

Mr. Karel KALOC, Department of International Law, Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic

Egypt

Ms. Naela GADR, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United Nations Office at Geneva

Mrs. Bahira HELMY (alternate)

France

Mme Beatrice LE FRAPER DU HELLEN, Responsable des droits de l'homme, Direction des Nations Unies, Ministère des affaires étrangères

Hungary

Ms. Agnes HEVESI, Senior Desk Officer, Responsible for matters relating to promotion and protection of human rights, Ministry for Foreign Affairs

India

Mr. Hamid Ali RAO, Under-Secretary, United Nations Division, Ministry of External Affairs

Indonesia

Mr. M. Sidik KUSUMOATMODJO, Ambassador, Senior official of the Indonesian Government

Mexico

Lic. G. DÍAZ-ESCOBAR MENA, Asesora de la Coordinación de Asuntos Migratorios y Derechos Humanos, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores

Morocco

M. Mohamed ARROUCHI, Secrétaire des affaires étrangères à la Direction des Organisations Internationales, Ministère d'Etat, Chargé des affaires étrangères et de la coopération

Peru

Don Felipe BERAÚN UGAZ, Ministro en el Servicio Diplomático, Director de Asuntos Sociales y Humanitarios, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores

Senegal

M. Moussa Bocar LY, Premier conseiller, Mission permanente de la République du Sénégal auprès de l'Office des Nations Unies à Genève

Sudan

Mr. Abdel G. AL NAIM, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission of Sudan to the United Nations Office at Geneva

Tunisia

M. Mouldi HAMMAMI, Ministre plénipotentiaire, Cabinet du Ministre des affaires étrangères, Ministère des affaires étrangères

Uganda

Mr. Patrick MUGANDA, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Foreign and Regional Affairs

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Mr. Rais A. TOUZMOHAMMAD, Leading Researcher, Professor, Institute of State and Law, USSR Academy of Science

United Kingdom

Ms. Claire PALLEY, Member of Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities

Yugoslavia

Dr. Miodrag MITIĆ, Minister Plenipotentiary, Department for International Organizations, Ministry for Foreign Affairs

C. UNITED NATIONS ORGANS

Centre Against *Apartheid*

Mr. Abdennour ABROUS

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

Mr. Agha SHAHI

Department of Public Information

Ms. Elena PONOMAREVA

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Mr. Shun CHETTY, Mr. Kallu KALUMIYA, Mr. S. LOMBARDO

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT)

Mr. Lars LUDVIGSEN

D. SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

International Labour Organisation

Mrs. E. DATE-BAH

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Mrs. de SAINT DIDIER

World Health Organization

Mme R. PINET

World Bank

Mr. Jean BANETH, Mr. Gerhard POHL, Ms. Piritta SORSA

E. INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

League of Arab States

M. Mahmoud TRIKI, M. Ahmed HARGUEM, M. Yusri HELMI, M. Osman EL HAJJE

Organization of African Unity

Mr. N. HACHED, Mr. D. NEGOUSSE

F. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Category I

International Council of Women

Ms. J. DE BOCCARD

World Confederation of Labour

M. Blaise ROBEL, Mme. Béatrice FAUCHÈRE

Category II

Association for the Study of the World Refugee Problem

Ms. Maria Rita SAULLE

Baha'i International Community

Mr. Wyzte BOS, Mrs. Machid FATIO

International Commission of Jurists

Mr. Niall MACDERMOT, Ms. Dilbur PARAKH

International Federation of Social Workers

Mr. Andrew MOURAVIEFF-APOSTOL, Mrs. Ellen MOURAVIEFF-APOSTOL

International Movement for Fraternal Union among Races and Peoples

Mr. C. M. EYA NCHAMA

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Ms. Edith BALLANTYNE, Ms. Janet BRUIN

World Council of Churches

Dr. James MUTAMBIRWA

World Young Women's Christian Association

Ms. D. PITYANA, Ms. B. MAST

Roster

World Peace Council

Mr. Romesh CHANDRA

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الامم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الامم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع انحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب الى : الامم المتحدة ،قسم البيع في نيويورك او في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

Printed at United Nations, Geneva
GE.91-15870
November 1991–10,070

United Nations publication
HR/PUB/91/3